GERMANY AFTER GENEVA BY CAROLUS

THE Nation

August 20, 1955

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Chiang's Rumor Mill

by John O'Kearney

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First-Hand Report on Formosa

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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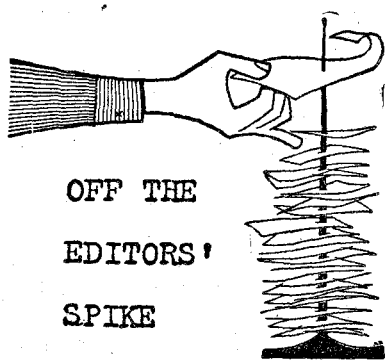

● FOR THE first time in many moons the business journals have begun to echo a note of mild apprehension about their favorite subject of the last decade—the great American boom. Rather plaintively, Business Week wants to know if it had not be better known as "the too beautiful boom?" A subtle change, it points out, has taken place in the business picture. What its forecasters see is "the sort of inflationary symptoms characteristic of a late state of a cyclical boom." Consumer credit totaled almost $32.5 billion at the end of June. Moreover, in mid-June it exceeded 12 per cent of this year's probable disposable income, compared with 11 per cent in 1954 and 1953, less than 10 per cent in 1952, and 9 per cent or less in every prior post-war year. In short, the volume of consumer credit is increasing considerably faster than net disposable income. Auto paper alone amounted to nearly $12.6 billion and the American Collectors Association, Inc., reported that 6,000,000 American families were delinquent on consumer-contract purchases of one kind or another. Fully half of the nation's $26-billion increase in output since 1954 was sold on credit. Home-mortgage indebtedness totals more than $75 billion, having increased 14 per cent in a year. Corporate earnings in the second quarter showed an increase of 33 per cent over those of a year earlier. When these second-quarter earnings are analyzed, however, it appears that thirty "mostly very large companies" accounted for nearly one-third of the aggregate earnings of 474 corporations for the period.

Milton Moskowitz, writing in Advertising Age, reports that auto dealers boosted their advertising lineage by 32 per cent in seven New York dailies. "Never before," he writes, "have dealers had to unload so many new cars jammed into vacant lots, warehouses, and behind farmers' barns." Car retailers are "wheeling and dealing" in crazy style, trying to unload a record total of 673,000 unsold cars. The Senate Interstate Commerce subcommittee is "greatly concerned" over the record number of unsold automobiles and the high dealer mortality; despite booming production, dealer mortalities have increased by about 200 per cent since 1951. Average dealer operating profits before taxes have dropped from about 6.3 per cent on sales in 1950 to about 0.6 in 1954. But the earnings of General Motors soared 49 per cent in the second quarter over a year ago.

It is not only the auto dealers these days who are having difficulty in disposing of their wares; appliance dealers face much the same problem and are meeting it in much the same fashion, that is, by promoting and creating obsolescence. Recently Mr. W. C. Sanford, manager of market research for the Hotpoint Company, gave some advice to appliance dealers on how to overcome the limitations of a saturated market. The supplier must promote, he said, "the second car, the second refrigerator" and, at the same time, speed up obsolescence. One way to do this, of course, is to bring about quick style changes. For example, the appliance industry is jocularly known as the "white-goods industry" because so many of its products are white. Why not produce a revulsion of feeling toward these old white artifacts by bringing out new models in attractive and varied colors? Why not make the customer "conscious" of his old-fashioned kitchen? After "self-defrosting built-in freezer units and shelves in the door," why not refrigerators with the freezer in the bottom? This is all being done, with apparent good effect. But Mr. Sanford is not satisfied. "In the case of refrigerators," he observes, "we are very slowly starting to get two refrigerators into some homes"—one for him, one for her.

● Roll Call, a new Capitol Hill organ, offers insight into business giveaways. More than ever before, business firms are showering gifts on Congressmen. In a recent week, all members of Congress received avocados from California, corn flakes and beans from Michigan, and butter from Minnesota. An organization known as Bull Elephants, made up of men employed by Republican Congressmen, provides an effective channel through which business favors can be distributed. At recent Bull Elephant sessions, Wisconsin cheese, New York champagne, Illinois whiskey, Steuben glass, fishing rods, ash trays, and Connecticut watches were handed round. Isn't this the real answer to the problem of saturated markets? Why not just give the stuff away?

● In the meantime, first-half profits of the New York Stock Exchange rose to $708,618 compared with $108,030 in the first six months of 1954. The exchange, which has been spending $500,000 annually on advertising the past few years, will double its newspaper lineage for the coming year with insertions appearing in 556 newspapers in 327 cities reaching 44,000,000 readers. The campaign will be handled by Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn. Exchange officials were appalled to discover, through a market survey, that 20 per cent of those polled didn't know that just anyone can buy stock on the exchange. The new advertising campaign is designed to educate this 20 per cent on their rights and privileges as American citizens which include, of course, the freedom of investing on the New York Stock Exchange.

● Of the many fine letters we received on a recent editorial on Owen Lattimore, the most highly prized came from Bernard Reich Beverly Hills Mr. Reich liked the editorial but pointed out that "without a lawyer or lawyers there would have been no Lattimore case . . . Behind almost all civil-liberties cases are forgotten lawyers." Mr. Reich has a good point. Someone should prepare an honor roll of the lawyers who have upheld the finest tradition of the American bar these last few years by taking difficult civil-liberties cases, lawyers like Abe Fortas and Thurman Arnold, Lattimore's able counsel; Telford Taylor, Osmond K. Fraenkel, R. Lawrence Siegel, A. L. Wirin Lloyd K. Garrison, Howard Whiteside, Robert W. Kenny, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Leonard Boudin, Roland Watts, and many others.

Jotting these names down reminds me, sadly, that the Philadelphia bar lost one of its most valued members with the death of Earl G. Harrison on July 29. A great friend of this publication — he served on the committee for our 90th Anniversary dinner — Mr. Harrison was an outstanding Commissioner of Immigration during World War II. Enforcement of the Alien Registration Act, under which some 3,600,000 aliens were registered in 1940, might easily have degenerated into an alien round-up comparable to that which J. Edgar Hoover helped run after World War I, had it not been for Mr. Harrison's sensible direction. And, on the subject of lawyers, we have not before this expressed, in any adequate fashion, our appreciation for Frieda B. Hennock's fine service as a member of the Federal Communications Commission. During her term, Miss Hennock was "the public member" of the commission, an able official with a real sense of the public interest.

C. McW.

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The Shape of Things

Satellites on the Loose

The United States is discovering, belatedly, some of the dangerous by-products of the satellite system—especially for a democratic state that cannot apply strong-arm measures to enforce its policies along distant defense lines. In Formosa, for example, Chiang Kai-shek has been able to use American funds and military build-up not only to protect his island refuge but to pursue a well-conceived plan to embroil this country, and if possible the Western world, in a war against his Communist-ruled homeland. Until checked rather recently by Washington, he carried out frequent air-attacks against the China coast; he still raids Western merchant ships headed for Chinese ports. Along with these military harassments, he has conducted a fantastic propaganda campaign aimed at creating fear, aggravating tension, and in general multiplying the chances of all-out hot war.

The facts about Formosa's lie-and-rumor mill are told in a vivid, first-hand report by John O'Kearney on page 148 of this issue. What remains is to make two points: one, that Chiang's behavior no longer accords with American policy on the cold war; and, conversely, that the Administration's recent negotiations with Peking can only have the effect of stimulating Nationalist anger and alarm. The conclusion is evident. Like it or not, Washington must soon tell its favorite protege to quit his belligerent tactics as damaging to America's present aims in Asia. An unpleasant task but one that should not be delayed, as the threatening situation in Korea amply proves.

Syngman Rhee is openly and cynically using the weapon of mob violence to force Washington's hand. By manipulating "popular indignation" against the Czech and Polish members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission he intends to place the American command before an ugly dilemma: either to abandon its obligations under the armistice or face the probability of having to shoot down South Korean civilians. Without doubt, President Rhee has reason to dislike the Communist commissioners, whose "neutrality" is at most purely formal, but he knows well that by loosing the mob against them he is embarrassing not them but the United States. One can understand his desire—paralleling Chiang's—to stymie Washington's effort to settle differences with Peking, and also grant that previous American policy is largely responsible for his reckless defiance. But our leaders cannot yield to Rhee's blackmail and still carry out their purpose to reduce the chances of conflict in Asia. They must repress the South Korean boss and, for the future, realize that one cannot light the fires of national revenge and then, to suit a shift of policy in Washington, simply turn them off at will.

Notice to Readers

Due to a strike at the American News Company, some newsstand readers in New York City and the metropolitan area were unable to purchase copies of the August 13 issue. Those who wish copies can order them direct from *The Nation*, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, at 20c per copy.

The End of Secrecy

If no other achievements are scored, the Geneva Atoms-For-Peace Conference has dealt a fatal blow to the structure of secrecy and security which has prevented the international exchange of atomic technology. In open sessions, scientists have freely exchanged information which, not so long ago, nations allied with this country could only obtain by secret negotiation. These same scientists have listened to several papers and discussions which would probably be banned by Admiral Strauss if the locale were Chicago or New York. According to Representative James E. Van Zandt, the type of American "pool reactor" on display at Geneva could not be exhibited to the general public here at home. But this state of affairs will not last long. Not only have Senator Clinton Anderson and his colleagues on the Joint Committee been impressed by the Soviet exhibits at Geneva; they have also discovered that many of the "secrets" guarded so jealously by Washington have been matters of common knowledge for some years. Senator Anderson is now convinced that restrictions which have severely inhibited the distribution of information on peaceful atomic products and processes must be relaxed. Here is another favorable omen for peace. For the secrecy we have sought to enforce has been an important factor in the maintenance of cold-war attitudes both here and abroad.

The Race for Markets

Behind the news from Geneva is the story of the race for markets—for reactors and other products of

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the atomic age. The *Economist's* special feature on atomic energy (July 23) provides an insight into the nature of this largely unreported competition. According to this journal, the United States has a large surplus of two atomic fuels, uranium metal and plutonium. The stockpile of the latter is said to be so large that it is only a matter of time before it finds its way into a new kind of Fort Knox. American manufacturers have naturally been encouraged to suggest to prospective foreign buyers that plutonium might be acquired from the government at cut-rate or even giveaway prices, provided the fuel were to be used in American-built reactors.

Furious, the British have been quick to point out a special advantage of their own, namely, their ability to provide information without formal negotiation over security and clearance regulations. By contrast, the bilateral agreements we have negotiated with other countries, including Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium, have in effect compelled these countries to comply with American security regulations—a humiliating and universally resented proviso. There is no doubt, therefore, that the British have a good talking point and that they have been using it to advantage at Geneva. American industrialists there have been fuming about secrecy provisions which restrict their sales activities. "Europeans who ought to be our customers for isotope chemicals are laughing at us," one of these industrialists told the *Wall Street Journal's* Henry Gemmill, "the British have taken almost the whole foreign market."

Man Bites Dog

It is scarcely news when an employer, acting in cahoots with an inquisitorial committee, blacklists union members, but it is news, and sad news indeed, when a union, cooperating with such a committee, blacklists its own members. This, in effect, is what the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (A. F. of L.) has just done. The leadership of the union recently proposed, and the membership subsequently approved 4 to 1 in a national referendum, a rule which provides that any member who invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party may be subject to charges of conduct prejudicial to the union's welfare. The accused may be investigated and, after a hearing, fined, censured, suspended, or expelled, with, of course, a right of appeal, for the offense of having invoked a constitutional privilege. Under AFTRA's union-shop contracts, expulsion is tantamount to permanent blacklisting.

The referendum, which was intended as a retroactive endorsement of certain actions taken by Hollywood locals, was presented to the membership without prior discussion or notification. The best the opposition could do was to take up a collection and buy space for an ad in *Variety*. Previously the New York local had

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touched off a House Un-American Activities Committee investigation by adopting a resolution condemning Aware, a private anti-Communist group, for the methods it has used. No sooner was the resolution adopted than the officers of Aware sent a call to Washington for assistance. The House committee hastened to New York to help Aware, and certain elements of the union leadership, put down the threatened rebellion. While it is clear that the union adopted the new rule chiefly to appease the House committee, there is every reason to believe that it will be vigorously enforced by the present leadership. So far as we know, this is the first time an American trade union has adopted a rule the effect of which is to threaten with expulsion members who invoke a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Enforcement may well be stayed by court action but AFTRA will have occasion to regret its adoption.

The Army Security Program

THE cases of Lieutenant Radulovitch and Midshipman Landy have aroused considerable interest in the treatment of alleged security risks by the military establishment. Both men were threatened with the ruin of their military careers—not because they themselves had committed undesirable acts, but because their parents were reported to be "subversive." Recently, in a report prepared by Rowland Watts for the Workers Defense League, the cases of over 100 draftees accused of subversive acts and associations have been studied. The picture that emerges of the Army's security program is not a pleasant one.

In the summer of 1954, at a time when the promotion of Major Peress became a national issue, the Army revised its security regulations. Under the new dispensation a soldier is to be relieved from active duty or discharged "when reasonable grounds exist that his retention is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security." Although military service is a duty rather than a privilege, the Army has, without statutory authority, incorporated the federal loyalty-security programs for civilian employees into military regulations. Thus, shortly after their induction, draftees are required to sign a Loyalty Certificate and indicate whether or not they have belonged to any organizations on the Attorney General's list. Despite the fact that the validity of this list is yet to be tested, past membership in any organization included is considered evidence of subversion. If the replies of inductees are unsatisfactory to the Army, or if further "derogatory" information is received, an investigation of their political histories is started. Pending this investigation, draftees are placed on "specially controlled duties," which means that they are unable to receive normal assignments. A series of hearings and appeals may follow, and if the alleged security risk is unable to clear himself of the charges made against him, his military service will be terminated with either a "General" or an "Undesirable" discharge.

In the cases described by the Watts report, most of the allegations made against men investigated as security risks pertain to their activities *prior* to induction. Such allegations include membership in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the "Trotskyist (Communist) Movement," attendance at meetings, subscription to "subversive" newspapers and magazines, and association with relatives. As in the Radulovitch and Landy cases, it is frequently not the inductee, but some member of his family, who is accused of subversive activities. For example, one soldier was told: "You have a father who is reported to have said that if communism offered anything good he would accept it." To take another instance, an alleged security risk was described as having a mother-in-law "who was reported to have been 'lying low' as a Communist for a long time and was supposed to become active in the peace movement again." (Actually, she had died in 1940, when the inductee was ten years old, ten years before he had met his wife.) It is not particularly surprising that the Army's criteria for uncovering subversives leave much to be desired. Nor is it surprising that the sources of such "evidence" are never revealed to the alleged security risk, or that the hearings to which he is entitled are so circumscribed and so secret that neither he nor his counsel are able to prepare an adequate defense. While these procedures are a disgrace, it is the manner in which these men are separated from the service that represents the greatest injustice.

THE major weapon in the Army's campaign against subversives within its ranks is to discharge soldiers regarded as security risks under less than "honorable" conditions. Under normal conditions, draftees may be discharged in a manner determined by the character of the service they have performed *while in uniform*. The Army has a right to discharge a man if his service has been unsatisfactory, but men who receive "General" or "Undesirable" discharges as security risks are being stigmatized for life because of pre-induction activities—or because of the activities of their friends and relatives—although their service is "honorable." Hence, an inductee is penalized for aleged acts or associations that have nothing to do with the character of his service in the Army. He is not only discharged, he is defamed. As Watts writes, "This is particularly true when the Army knew, in advance of induction, of these activities and knew that, on the basis of them, it would not permit him to serve normally; or having permitted him to serve, does not accord him the 'Honorable' separation to which he is entitled based on 'the character of the service he has rendered'; or, having accorded him such an 'Honorable' separation, attempts to control his poli-

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tical, social and marital life under threat of an 'Undesirable' discharge after six post-service years of inactive duty in the Army Reserves."

The immediate consequence for the veteran who has been discharged under less than honorable conditions —and who, in effect, has been branded "disloyal and subversive"—is a loss of rights and benefits that would otherwise belong to him, a bar to all public employment, most employment in defense industries, and in many other fields of work where the certificate of discharge must be shown. It seems reasonable to assume that the Army's policy represents a violation of basic constitutional guarantees. To give a man a less-than-honorable discharge when the character of his service demands an honorable one, is an act of defamation, and an infliction of punishment without judicial trial—since what is at stake is the right to work.

There are other consequences of the new policy. In the first place, the Army is turned into an investigative agency and soldiers are encouraged to become informers. More important, because many soldiers have been separated from the service as security risks for alleged acts or connections prior to induction, the Army security program establishes military controls over the political behavior of great numbers of young Americans before they enter the service, and for years afterwards. As Watts writes, the Army now performs the role of a censor over all the nation's young men from approximately the age of 15 to 30, by making pre-induction activities a major consideration in determining the character of the discharge which soldiers shall receive; and by extending its control during the six years' reserve period after active service. It is by no means certain that the Army wishes this role, but out of fear, or an aim to please certain Senators, it has set an alarming precedent.

CHIANG'S RUMOR MILL

It Grinds On and On . . *by John O'Kearney*

THE United States appeared to be awfully close to a shooting war in the Far East in the early months of this year, not for reasons that would have been acceptable to informed American officials on the spot, but because Chiang Kai-shek has had a free hand in running a single-minded propaganda agency dedicated to his dream of returning to the mainland.

Day after day during the tense months of January, February, March, and April, millions of Americans were told that a Red Chinese attack on the small offshore island groups held by the Nationalists was imminent. They were told that these islands (among which were the Tachens and the Nanchis, since evacuated) were: A. stepping stones for reconquest of the mainland; B. just as valuable as stepping stones for the Communists, were they to attempt to invade Formosa; C. outposts from which the Nationalist navy was able to blockade the Red ports of Amoy and Foochow; D. tip-

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

top radar stations in guarding Formosa against air attacks; E. centers from which the Nationalists were able to direct guerrilla operations in Fukien and Chekiang provinces. Americans were led to believe that the loss of these islands would be an all-but-mortal blow to Nationalist China and United States security.

It is not my present purpose to assert, in the face of Peking declarations to the contrary, that no threat to Formosa has been posed. Rather, it is my intention to show that Chiang Kai-shek, soon after the Korean armistice had begun to jell, felt that the time had come to stir up an active war on his own, using his few planes, his few ships, but chiefly his Government Information Bureau, to deceive and excite the American people into giving him their almighty support.

As far back as last September Chiang had already set the pattern of provocative initiative. With bombs and shells he had stirred things up to a point where, according to an AP report of September 10, out of Washington, there was "reliable information" that navy fleet units west of Pearl Harbor were being deployed to counter a big Communist military build-up near Quemoy.

Communiques had announced that for four straight days Nationalist planes and warships had been blasting away at new concentrations of Red forces in the Amoy area ringing Quemoy, though five months later, in February, American correspondents on Quemoy itself watched a Nationalist propeller aircraft slowly circle low over Amoy and slowly wheel away without a shot being fired. A Nationalist C-46 had carried the Americans to Quemoy.

JOHN O'KEARNEY, on the staff of one of the metropolitan dailies in New York, has just returned from a three-month assignment in Formosa.

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It was unarmed, unescorted, and did not even bother to fly "on the deck" as it crossed Formosa Strait to come down within a few thousand feet of the Red mainland. That same February day, a Nationalist air-force source said the circling plane had seen one warship in Amoy harbor. It "appeared to be" a motor torpedo boat.

STILL another communique of September 10, 1954, told of the massing of Communist jet aircraft in the coastal province of Chekiang. These Communist jets were still massing nine months later, though somewhat more credibly, since by March and April of this year the Communists had at last completed fields in Chekiang from which their jets could operate. From September into October the Nationalists continued their offensive, issuing reports about gunboats sunk, junks set afire, napalm bombs dropped on vital military targets. They were, in surely excusable vernacular, getting away with murder. But what were they shooting at? On October 13 the New York *Herald Tribune* reported from Taipei that American officials on Formosa discounted Nationalist reports of a Communist build-up around Amoy. Neither did they see any immediate threat to Quemoy, and they felt, besides, that continued Nationalist attacks against the mainland might provoke counterattack and war.

By the end of the year it had become evident that Chiang's forays—or claims of forays — had alarmed Washington. On December 10, at the insistence of Secretary of State Dulles, Nationalist Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh sent the Secretary a written assurance that Chiang would take no further offensive action against the mainland without United States consent. This was tied into the new Mutual Defense Treaty, which laid down that use of force was to be a matter of joint agreement.

Chiang's raids ceased—as, in fact, they had already done so under less formal American pressure. But his propaganda agency, the Government Information Bureau run by Dr. Wu Nan-ju, was turned loose to help make up on the roundabouts what had been lost on the swings. Restrained from offensive action on his own, Chiang immediately had the Communists taking the initiative in the struggle.

Communiques now reported great sea battles in defense of the offshore islands. Scores of motorized junks and gunboats were sent to the bottom or set afire; but—for all the reported damage inflicted on Chiang's navy—it would appear that the opposing Red fleets were unarmed fishing craft or merchant junks. In January the Kuomintang-policed press of Formosa reported that United States destroyers had been in battle with Communist warships. This was not an isolated instance of inflammatory untruth. With excitement at its height over whether President Eisenhower would or would not decide to commit the Seventh Fleet to defense of the offshore islands, a Nationalist pilot reported the sinking of a submarine in the strait. A few days later Admiral Robert B. Carney was to say in an interview in Taipei that no submarines had appeared in Formosa Strait waters.

At one point, it seems, Chiang's Information Bureau overdid things. Washington, agitated by souped-up accounts of battles and the Red "build-up," decided that Nationalist territory was over-extended for urgent defense, and that Chiang should evacuate the Tachens, 200 miles north of Formosa. Chiang gave up the Tachens, with much heroic fanfare in the press, but it was rumored that he had refused to do so unless given an assurance that the United States would commit itself to active defense of Quemoy and the Matsus. It was then that Dulles made his "as such" statement — saying we would not defend the islands "as such," but only if they became involved in Communist assault action aimed at Formosa and the Pescadores.

CHIANG chose not to understand this language. He complained of American policy as being vacillating, shilly-shallying. An inspired local editorial blasted Eisenhower and described his position as "soapy." At the same time, official Nationalist propagandists stepped up their campaign to represent the remaining offshore islands as outposts of vital importance. Chiang gobbled up the space of millions of words in the world press, while the only people on Formosa who might have corrected reports and interpretations that were breeding frantic anxiety in America and fright in Europe remained supinely gagged by direct order of Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, recently replaced chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group on Formosa. MAAG personnel on the offshore islands were even forbidden to reveal their own names, though some of Chase's highest subordinates later risked giving interviews to correspondents they could trust.

Washington Post

"What's our firm, unswerving Asia policy this week?"

While in Washington the violent champions of the Generalissimo were echoing Nationalist propaganda — accusing Eisenhower of having reversed himself on Formosa in failing to commit the Seventh Fleet to defense of the offshore islands, proclaiming the United States position in Asia to be in peril unless he did, demanding that Red China be told it could have the islands "only when it has defeated the United States of America," calling Quemoy and the Matsus America's "first line of defense" in the Pacific, and creating further tension by predicting Communist invasion of Formosa within days—the military men who defied the Chase gag order let it out that neither Quemoy nor the Matsus group was of any importance in the strategic scheme of things.

They said the islands were useless as stepping stones for either side; that an effort to take them, hastily fortified though they were, would cost the Communists tens of thousands of lives; that they were useless to Nationalist reconquest of the

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mainland because they lay against a ruggedly mountainous Communist shoreline inaccessible to invading armies, without highways or railroads; that they could not be used either as air bases or as naval stations of any effectiveness because of their own hilly terrain and lack of harbors. As for being important radar outposts, two small radar ships at sea could do as well. Further, they had not stopped trade along the Communist coast. And if the Communists achieved air superiority over the strait, how could the islands be supplied?

AS THIS fresh concept of things emerged, growing from day to day in cables to the States, Army Secretary Robert Stevens arrived in Formosa. He first refused to see the press, then finally granted a plane-side interview, saying nothing very significant, as he took off for home three days later. On the morning of his leaving, April 5, Chiang addressed a closed meeting of the Kuomintang. A bit more than an hour later the Government Information Bureau called an American news-agency correspondent and asked that he report nothing of what Chiang had said at the meeting. No one knew he had said anything. The request roused curiosity. One correspondent, by diligent digging, learned that Chiang again had accused Eisenhower of vacillation, and then had angrily stated: "The United States has failed in its moral obligation to defend the Matsus and Quemoy."

This speech by Chiang, linked to the Stevens visit, suggested that Washington had at last made it clear that the Seventh Fleet would not be drawn into war over the offshore islands. A few days later the newsman who had done the digging was summoned by Dr. Wu. Wu denied that Chiang had said anything of "international relations." The correspondent expressed faith in his source, while the doctor complained that in yet other instances the reporter had been "uncooperative"; that he had sent dispatches about the uselessness of the islands that were a comfort to the enemy. Wu took the line: We're both interested in defeating communism. Why won't you behave yourself? Within a matter of days there appeared in the rumor column of an American news magazine an item datelined *Defense Department,* saying that a reporter for a major United States news medium, recently arrived in a critical area of the Far East, was known to be a secret member of the Communist Party. End item.

More days later, the "uncooperative" newsman was tipped by an official American source that he was under surveillance by Chiang's security police—that he was the "secret member of the Communist Party." He immediately advised his intimate Chinese friends to give him a wide berth, lest they also be found to be "Communists," and thus be the goats of a frame-up designed to expel him from the country. Simultaneously, the correspondent sent a brief, informative cable to his desk asking for an investigation of the Defense Department rumor. A cabled reply—open to government scrutiny—suggested in substance that the Nationalists ought to have better sense.

That night two of Dr. Wu's deputies bought the correspondent a few drinks, and there, in hearty laughter joined, the matter was dropped. But the propaganda went on.

In June, in Honolulu, spokesmen for Pacific Fleet headquarters told the correspondent, in a not-to-be-attributed interview, that reports of sea battles and imminent invasions kept them in a state of jitters. "We think we ought to know what's going on out there," they said, "but sometimes we feel that we haven't the faintest idea."

SCIENTISTS OF THE WORLD

Evangelism to Compromise . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

THE World Conference of Scientists showed most unscientific emotion in its last hour on the eve of the tenth anniversary of Hiroshima. At the rostrum stood a genial little Soviet professor, Academician Topchiev, who was beaming broadly and clapping, Russian style, in answer to the audience's applause. He had just assured them in the closing minutes of this London conference on nuclear problems that "Soviet scientists will take the fullest part in the steps that must follow" in removing the danger of the use of nuclear weapons, and using atomic energy for the benefit of humanity.

In most of its phases one felt that one was watching a play by George Bernard Shaw rather than a real-life conference. The stage had been set by the Shavian-sounding World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, whose core of firm-willed idealists is amply padded with slender young graduates and full-bosomed matrons whose feet are firmly planted in mid-air. It was from this contingent that the applause rolled when any idealistic hope was mentioned. In usual style their idealism had been larded with ineffectiveness: the invitations to the conference had gone out too late and too indirectly to harvest any American scientists except Professor Eugene Rabinowitch, who represented the American Federation of Atomic Scientists.

A dramatic presentation of the problem as seen by the British academic conscience had been guaranteed by the support of a noble trio: Lord Boyd Orr, Lord Beveridge, and Earl (Bertrand) Russell. Russell threw the full weight of his sardonic wit

ANDREW ROTH is a contributing editor of The Nation, *now living in London.*

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into lining up the assembly behind the dramatic appeal he and Einstein and other famous scientists had launched on the eve of Geneva Conference. He called on the meeting to support a resolution which began with unscientific certitude: "Since in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed and since such weapons threaten the continued existence of civilized life and possibly even mankind . . ." He called on scientists to make known that "a nuclear war would not bring victory to either side, and would not create the sort of world desired by Communists or the sort of world desired by their opponents or the sort of world that uncommitted nations desire. The probability is that it would create a planet destitute of life, except for a few mosses and fungi."

In a dry voice he expressed the hope that "if the dangers of a nuclear war are recognized in all their appalling magnitude, it will be necessary that international controversy should be conducted with an overriding loyalty to mankind as opposed to separate nations or blocs of nations or ideologies . . . it must not be thought that the defeat of communism or the defeat of capitalism, as the case may be, is of such importance as to justify the extermination of the human race in the process . . . In this case learning through experience is ruled out since the experience will, in all likelihood, be that of universal death . . ."

None of this was lost on the four funereally-clothed academicians who sat smiling as the simultaneous translation into Russian reached their earphones. The last-minute appearance of these Soviet scientists—Professor A. V. Topchiev, A. V. Kuzin, M. A. Markov, nuclear physicist, and C. A. Golounsky—had converted the character of the conference. It was difficult to see in these matter-of-fact men the personification of the new wind from Moscow, or, as Topchiev called it "the new spirit in international relations created at the Geneva Conference." But they were the first Soviet scientists associated with atomic developments to appear at an international conference in ten years. Their presence, said the leader of the Liberal Party, Clement Davies, changed the meeting "from being a half-world conference into a whole-world conference."

Partymiller in York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

A Very Serious Matter

Not entirely. There was a great deal of thoroughly Western soul-searching on the part of the scientists present. Professor R. Furth, formerly of Prague and now at the University of London, wanted every scientist to take the equivalent of the doctors' Hippocratic Oath, pledging himself "to abstain from any activity known to me to be intended for harmful purposes." Dr. A. J. Ayer of the same university argued it was almost impossible today to pinpoint the responsibility of a single scientist, or to expect him to isolate himself from the main stream of government-subsidized work; he could only strive for the greatest freedom within that framework. Professor Gallie of Belfast University urged that instead of "beginning to cart their consciences from conference to conference" scientists should assume a new loyalty to mankind. Professor J. Bronowski rebelled against the new picture of the scientist as a modern Mephistopheles and the tendency to put on his individual conscience the decision of what he is to do; it was precisely for such a decision that Klaus Fuchs was jailed. There was general agreement that the known facts of nuclear war would do most to fulfil the scientists' obligation to their fellow men.

In a curious way the drama of the conference came from a muting of its dramatics. The arrival of the Soviet scientists changed its basic character from evangelism to compromise. The Russians joined in the work of the four commissions and, unlike other Soviet emissaries in a previous period, showed themselves rather cautious. Instead of Bertrand Russell's dramatic formulation, which made it seem automatic that another international war would mean the end of mankind, the Russians joined with more scientifically cautious Westerners to produce a resolution which began: "Since in any future war nuclear weapons will probably be employed and since such weapons threaten to bring immeasurable suffering for humanity and material destruction and possibly even the end of mankind, we urge, therefore, the governments of the world to realize and to acknowledge publicly that their purpose cannot be furthered by world war . . ."

Even before the Russians made their appearance, the organizers of the conference had decided on the tactic of making this the beginning of a year of study and preparation for a bigger conference to take place next summer. When they decided this they had no idea that they would get a firm assurance from Topchiev that Soviet scientists would cooperate in the project.

There are, of course, a multitude of problems which lie between even the most heart-felt resolutions and the emergence of a practicable system of international control and a diversion of resources from H-bombs to power stations. But, ten years after Hiroshima, we have begun to see glimpses that not only Russian man but man in general may be ceasing to be his own worst enemy.

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GERMANY AFTER GENEVA

Cold Facts on the Cold War . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

LIKE an eagle crouching in his eyrie, Dr. Konrad Adenauer looked down from his 5,000-foot retreat at Muerren toward the Lake of Geneva, about 80 miles distant. Surrounded by his Foreign Minister, Dr. von Brentano, his Minister of State, Dr. Hallstein, the envoy to the Western European Union, Dr. Blankenhorn, and the German Ambassador to the United Nations in New York, Felix von Eckhard—surrounded by these dignitaries, the Chancellor waited cheerfully for events to develop in Geneva.

Didn't he have in his pocket Moscow's invitation which reached him so unexpectedly last May? And didn't this invitation confirm his oft-repeated conviction that Russia was in the throes of a grave crisis, and that the gentlemen in the Kremlin were at the end of their wits—a brief Dr. Adenaue had reiterated during his most recent visit to Washington? Furthermore, didn't West Germany's chief before leaving for Switzerland provide himself with all the trump cards necessary to win for the "policy of strength" in Geneva a victory as inevitable as an Amen in church?

With a stubbornness that even in his own political party aroused bitter criticism and almost caused a revolt in his government coalition, Adenauer forced Parliament to accept his army draft law shortly before the summer recess. This was just a week before the Geneva talks. Of course he had to compromise on a few safety clauses, including the setting up of a neutral control commission for the selection of generals and other high-ranking officers. Moreover, the Social Democratic opposition remained adamant and in the final vote stood to a man against the law, though failing to stop its passage. In spite of all obstacles, the old man once again had made his will prevail. With the bill in his briefcase Adenauer happily went to Muerren. Assured of 6,000 officers—the skeletal basis of a new German army—he looked confidently forward to the conference of the Big Four. What could go wrong? Weren't the Russians confronted with a *fait accompli?*

HOWEVER, on the second day of the Geneva negotiations Dr. Adenauer must have realized that he'd lost the game. His envoy, Dr. Blankenhorn, vainly shuttled back and forth between Muerren and Geneva. Exhortations to the Western powers went unheeded. References to Western solidarity and previous commitments to Bonn did no be r. Eisenhower remained firm: no controversial question dividing Russia and the West must interfere with reaching a peaceful understanding. According to the Paris newspaper *Le Monde,* Sir Anthony Eden emphasized this point on July 28 in the House of Parliament: "The Prime Minister insisted that, far as the Western powers are concerned, Germany must be able to make a free choice once she is unified. The West does not insist that Germany be integrated in NATO no matter what. Russia and Europe have a right to hope that Germany's reunification will not create any danger for them."

There was no word in the German press about these remarks of the British Prime Minister, and this is characteristic of the manner in which the German government and the German press have treated the results of the Geneva conference. Despite the shock to German public opinion, Dr. Adenauer and his supporters kept up a brave front. Outwardly they celebrated Western solidarity and pretended that the results were a success for the Chancellor's policy. They insisted that the question of Germany's reunification had remained on the agenda with the expected priority, and that without a solution "satisfactory to West Germany" there would be no collective security and no peace in the world.

The violently pro-government newspaper *Koelnische Rundschau* went so far as to publish an editorial in which it demanded that the West should not slow down rearmament, its reason being that Geneva had not proved the West's military superiority conclusively enough to force the Russians to yield on all important points. This military superiority, the paper said, could only be achieved by rearming the Germans—hence, onward and upward with the German army; the cold war must go on!

Similar opinions were expressed in Dr. Adenauer's immediate entourage. Herr Strauss, one of his younger Cabinet members, declared in a speech that, for the West, Geneva must be considered as only half a success, and hence as a half failure. On July 10, immediately before Geneva, Foreign Minister von Brentano was sitting on such a high horse that during the Thousand-Year celebration of the Battle on the Lechfeld, he exclaimed in Augsburg "in the name of the federal Chancellor" that today as in centuries past "pagan nomadic hordes from the East" were threatening Western Christianity, and that "we must take decisive and effective counter-measures." "The surging nomadic hordes," Brentano continued, "cannot be warded off by offers of neutrality and peaceful conduct. Western Christianity can assert itself only if it is united and if it restores the unity of Christian faith as the basis of Western culture." This, incidentally, was a clear stab at the Protestant church. After Geneva, even Brentano's voice came out in a lower key.

In the meantime, however, other voi have made themselves heard in Western Germany. Concerned about the reunification issue, the Social Democratic Opposition has noted regretfully that the results of Geneva have justified its policy of

CAROLUS is The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

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rejecting the Paris treaties and Germany's remilitarization. What the Social Democrats had reiterated time and again had become true; with West Germany's membership in NATO and its military pact with the West, the country's reunification could not be achieved. For this reason the *Vorwaerts,* organ of the Social Democrats, implored the West to voluntarily renounce the West German army divisions — which are militarily useless anyway — and to release Bonn from its NATO membership, so that the Russian-occupied part of Germany might then be freed from the obligations of the Warsaw pact. Otherwise, the *Vowaerts* said, there is no hope for German reunification, and no hope for a collective-security system with guarantees for both East and West, which alone could transform the Geneva truce into a genuine peace.

Similar ideas are being expressed in more middle-of-the-road papers, whose domestic policies are diametrically opposed to the Social Democratic program. First and foremost, there is the extremely influential *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.* Unlike Dr. Adenauer, this newspaper believes that time is working for Moscow and that Germany's position is very dangerous. An editorial dated July 29 says, verbatim: "We have the feeling that a long-repressed criticism of Germany's official foreign policy has now come out in the open after the Geneva conference."

THE *Allgemeine Zeitung* bases its opinion on a widely quoted speech of Professor Friedensburg, federal delegate at Bonn from Berlin, a prominent member of Adenauer's party, and former Lord Mayor of Berlin. As president of the Institute for Economic Research Professor Friedensburg said on July 28 in Heidelberg: "I am afraid that the result of Geneva has cruelly revealed our lack of a realistic concept for German reunification. The notion that the West should become so strong that the Russians cannot do anything but retreat is devoid of any basis in reality. Unfortunately, the German people have been made to feel a mystic horror toward the Soviet Union. The only possible way of reunification is through an understanding with the Russians on a basis of equality. We cannot expect the Russians to accede to reunification at the cost of weakening themselves; at the same time the West cannot be expected to surrender any of its freedom." The paper then quotes the words of Dr. Thomas Dehler, party chairman of the conservative Free Democrats, members of Adenauer's coalition, who exclaimed only a short while ago: "It was a mistake to treat the Russians like lepers for ten years and thus deprive ourselves of any chance to reach an understanding with them."

Vicky in London Daily Mirror

Mein Gott, this is positively embarrassing.

This is the mood that permeates Western Germany after Geneva: first, the people are relieved that the nightmare of a new war has receded to the background; second, the politicians are depressed and resigned, having been made aware that the West German state is merely a tool of the Great Powers, and not the center of the universe, as all who swallowed Adenauer's propaganda were entitled to believe. Needless to say, its publicists had powerful help from across the Atlantic.

There is a third factor: Geneva has confronted the Germans with the cold facts about the cold war. When the Bonn Parliament reconvenes, no member of the Chancellor's party will have the nerve to mount the rostrum and berate the opposition as, for example, was done by Dr. Jaeger, one of the vice-presidents of the Bundestag, during the debate on the Paris treaties when he proclaimed: "You should not overlook the fact that the world is divided into two camps — the West is inhabited by gentlemen, the East by bandits."

After Geneva, this era is presumably ended for West Germany and the West German beneficiaries of the cold war. If anything had been lacking to mark the end, it was provided by the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev in East Berlin. This trip of the Russian statesmen on their way back to Moscow has overshadowed even the results of Geneva, where Bonn and West Germany are concerned. Dr. Adenauer was so disturbed that, after hearing the first news from the East Zone, he wanted to give up his visit to Moscow. Now he has regained his composure and in this case, too, is putting up a brave front.

Dr. Adenauer will soon go to Moscow, and the only controversial question in government circles is whether he will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Brentano or by Dr. Ehrhard, the Minister of Economy. Moscow has offered to West German industrialists the markets of the East. German industrialists would be the last to renounce this source of profit and allow themselves to be outdone by Britain, which is so much in need

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of exports. Since Dr. Adenauer, in spite of his personal magnetism and his will to rule, is in the final analysis a creature of the German banks and German heavy industry, he will, if he wants to remain in power, have to bow to his superiors from the Rhine and the Ruhr, whom he has served so faithfully since 1949 and for whom he has created a state in their image, and a commercial paradise without parallel.

It is true that Dr. Adenauer will receive in Moscow the doubtful gift of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. There will then be two German ambassadors in Moscow — the one from Pankow and the one from Bonn—and Bonn will have all the ambassadors from Moscow's satellite states, and of course from the Kremlin itself. This done, what is to prevent Sweden, and later Belgium or France, from sending ambassadors to East Berlin-Pankow? As for the German POW's still held in Russia, whom the Federal Chancellor meant to bring home triumphantly to strengthen his hold on the voters, Bulganin has already promised their liberation to the East Zone government, as a shot in the arm. Reunification? "A domestic issue of the Germans," said Geneva. Truly, the road to Moscow will be a difficult one for Dr. Adenauer. It will be a journey to Canossa and nothing will be spared him. No wonder he gags at the thought.

The opposition gags no less. Negotiations with the East Zone and their Communist rulers, it fears, will take a tremendously long time. Today there is scarcely any basis for Germany's speedy reunification within the leading political parties, including the Opposition. Unless an irresistible popular movement forces the hand of all these parties, virtually nothing can be done. Given today's resignation among the West Germans, whose strongest characteristic is an egoism which will not permit a genuine solidarity even among the workers, it is hard to see any possibility for the rise of a spontaneous popular movement, though the concept of unity is in everybody's heart. Reunification is bound to happen. The questions are how and when.

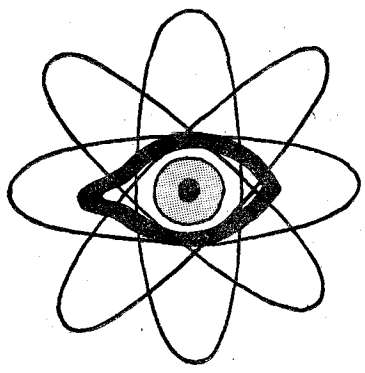
It was the French newspaper *Le Monde* that during the Geneva negotiations expressed the bitter truth: "Chancellor Adenauer is the undiluted product of the cold war. If the cold war stops, he will again become the mayor of a Cologne expanded to the dimensions of the Federal Republic. He will no longer be the standard-bearer of the anti-Communist crusade."

The Geneva conference was born in January, 1954, when it was decided at NATO headquarters in Paris that a future war should be fought with atomic weapons. It is almost a gift from Heaven that in this crucial time a man like General Eisenhower, with his military knowledge coupled with a deep humanitarianism and a sense of responsibility, is the President of the United States. Thanks to Geneva he has become a symbol of peace and the hope of peoples everywhere. The Germans, too, will eventually be grateful to him, for their welfare and their hopes of unification are based on one thing only — the preservation of peace.

THE SENSE OF THE FUTURE

Man's About Face . . *by Roderick Seidenberg*

THROUGHOUT the long course of history mankind seems to have been animated by a sense of the past rather than the future. During the last three centuries, however, a gradual shift in emphasis has taken place: today, in a significant volte-face, we are oriented almost wholly toward the future. This vast change of polarity is itself the expression of a decisive shift in the life of man. It symbolizes a new relationship in respect to nature, to himself, and to his destiny. Modern man has boldly accepted the world in all its challenges, but not, it is worth noting, without a residue of doubt and misgiving amidst the splendor of his anticipations. If he has grown strong in the power of his accumulated knowledge and his scientific understanding, he has come to recognize the unknown in himself. For he has still to comprehend his own nature, his capacities and limitations, his being. In widening the horizon of his opportunities he has added immeasurably to his responsibilities, and the burden of this creative challenge has sobered his optimism.



In a relatively static milieu such as that of medieval society, or even more so in the hieratic civilization of ancient Egypt, the future may well have seemed remote, serene, and stable. For the routine of life flowed on with the days and the seasons in an unchanging recurrence of events sustained by the continuity of long-established customs and traditions. A sense of the past pervaded the future. The essential patterns of life were deeply rooted and man lived in a state of comparative "fixity and permanence." A panoramic view of history would seem to indicate that the rate of change in the status of

RODERICK SEIDENBERG is the author of "Post-Historic Man," a book which was acclaimed by Lewis Mumford, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. J. Muller, Waldo Frank, and others as a brilliant and unique contribution to the study of history.

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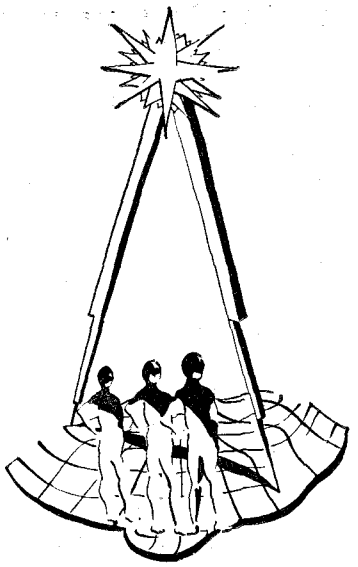
human affairs has by and large followed a slowly accelerating curve, and that man in the course of his development has steadily compounded his activities and hastened his sense of time.

With the coming of the machine, which enabled man to telescope time in unimagined ways, the tempo of change rose in a wholly unprecedented and explosive manner. Now it is precisely in a time of change that the future moves toward us, as it is in a time of stability that it recedes from us. That is why, in our unstable and dissolving world, the future impinges upon us with relentless immediacy. Increasingly we project the implications of our civilization into the future.

OUR approach to the problems of the future has undergone a radical change of attitude. We no longer consult the Delphic oracles or seek revelations in the entrails of birds. If we have abandoned the ancient arts of divination, addressed for the most part to specific events and particular occasions, we are moving toward a more comprehensive science of prediction founded upon general trends and basic principles behind the bewildering spectacle of isolated happenings. We have learned that in human affairs even chance, in its widest interpretation, follows statistical laws. Our advances in prognostication are at once broader in scope and less daring in their pretentions than the clairvoyance of the past. Yet those earlier, superstitious forays into the future were a kind of intuitive affirmation of a science to come, much as ancient astrology and medieval alchemy were forerunners of astronomy and chemistry. It is true a science of social prognostication remains to be established. Prediction, which is the hallmark of all science, seems not to have advanced much further in human affairs than to clear the ground of superstitious underbrush while venturing to formulate, at least in respect to certain large-scale, mass phenomena, its basic first principles. Still, efforts have been made toward a more far-reaching and all-inclusive methodology.

Half a century ago Henry Adams hinted at the possibility of establishing such a science, and however futile and awry his own attempt may have been, the challenge of the problem has been taken up, in one way or another, ever since. Thus, to mention a recent example, Charles Galton Darwin in his book "The Next Million Years" (1952) speaks of a set of laws "like the laws of thermodynamics, which would place absolute limits on what can be done by humanity." There have been many other indications, both in the field of biology and of history, pointing toward the hope of establishing the principles of such a science. Meanwhile the monumental efforts of Spengler, Toynbee, Danilevsky, Sorokin, and others to formulate the laws of civilization on the basis of a cyclical interpretation of the processes of history, constitute attempts to carry the trajectory of the past into the future. These interpretations suggest an alternate thesis: that the advent of science and the coming of the machine mark a decisive and climactic turning point in the life of man, and that history itself as we have known it may be but a transitional phase in the final development of mankind. There are, it is clear, sufficient reasons for believing that humanity is on the brink of a profound change of direction, the effects of which we can only hope to assay in an abstract and structural sense. In terms of these far-off, large-scale vistas it is possible that the theory of probability will cut athwart the factor of the individual human will, enabling us to attain a measure of predictability akin to that of other sciences.

CONSIDERED from a purely speculative point of view it is not without significance that man has already attained, in some respects, perimeters of the future that he cannot surpass. He has circumnavigated the globe, and conducted a virtually complete exploration of its surface. He has attained world-wide, instantaneous communication. He has established a universal system of latitude and longitude and a corresponding system of universal time—the framework of an ultimate unification of mankind. He is moving, implicitly and irrevocably it would seem, toward some form of universal organization, toward a world community. His science, limited and provisional as it may be, has universal validity. His mathematics knows neither temporal nor parochial boundaries. Man thus touches, here and there,



certain ultimates whose influence is certain to pervade his future as constants in a world of increasingly predictable variables. Through the specific achievements of the human spirit may forever elude prediction, certain inherent aspects based upon the laws of nature define, if they do not delineate, the probable limits of his future possibilities. Though unique, man remains a member of the biologic hierarcy. Doubtless his future development will become increasingly conscious, deliberate, and self-directed, but his further evolution—despite the adage that history repeats itself—will remain, in consonance with evolution in general, an irreversible process. The implications of this basic principle have not been fully explored, but clearly, they place the future of man within the locus of thermodynamic considerations. However abstract, these aspects of the picture suggest that the future is not a *tabula rasa* of illimitable possibilities.

With pardonable concern we look to our own immediate future within the larger perspective of man's ultimate destiny. Here too we do well to confine ourselves to underlying trends and tendencies. No age ever sees itself clearly; and in our age of ceaseless change nothing seems fixed, sacred, and enduring around which to pivot the issues of the future. Under the compulsion of our speed, our forward thrust and dynamic projection we live in a state of baffled anticipation. Our fears as well as our hopes arise out of a feeling that our vertiginous rate of change is approaching a saturation point beyond which our civilization

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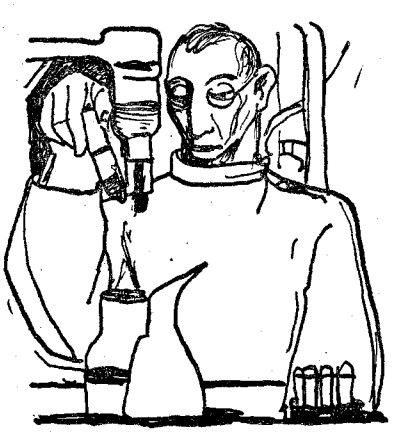
will either collapse into chaos or attain a new order of things. In this condition of doubt and uncertainty our preoccupation with planning furnishes a significant clue to the underlying direction of affairs. For planning implies, above all, a conscious response to the challenge of the future. In its basic and broadest significance planning constitutes a rational approach to the solution of the problems of civilization—whether conceived in our piecemeal fashion or in an overall and totalitarian manner as in Soviet Russia. In either case it is the expression of a profound need, an inherent structural necessity in the functioning of our highly technological society.

WE live in a world of proliferating means. Under the impact of their complexity we have come to accept organization as an axiomatic principle of procedure. In America, as in the West generally, the principle of organization has been applied in response to the specific needs of the prevailing system of things; in Soviet Russia it has been accepted generically. Despite this apparent distinction, it is clear we are moving along parallel paths toward a common goal if only because organization itself demands, inherently and inevitably, the attainment of a final state of complete organization. As the antithesis of chaos, organization moves implicitly toward a condition of all-embracing universality. It is a crystallizing process encompassing the entire social scene, politically and economically, culturally and spiritually. Thus we are aware, however dimly and reluctantly, that contemporary humanity is marching—whether in step or out of step—toward the fateful denouement of a collectivized world. For better or for worse we are set to enter the portals of the future *en masse*.

From one point of view the process of organization appears to be the result of deliberate, consciously directed planning; from another aspect, seen in its totality, it emerges as the functioning of a vast, all-pervasive historic determination. On the basis of either interpretation modern man is caught in a grave dilemma of preserving his sense of individual freedom while the world about him moves irrevocably toward universal collectivization. The one world of the future may well be a world freely established; it will unquestionably be a world of precisely determined conformity. If, in the past, man has been the least predictable factor in the complex functioning of his ecology, he is now set to eliminate this ambiguity by adjusting himself to the over-all demands of his situation. In a world of limited resources his own potentialities will be trimmed to the rigorous requirements of statistical analysis and prediction. Under the massive compulsions of organized society the individual will be reduced to the status of an elementary unit in the complex functioning of the community. Thus reduced, his freedom to conform may in time seem to him the highest form of spirituality.

Modern painting, sculpture, and music have given voice to the anguish and confusion of the soul of man under the ominous threat of this nameless fate. It has remained for literature, however, to give rise to a wholly new genre, a literature of the future, which serves as the program notes to a new act in the drama of history. The stark novelty of this genre is in itself an omen. We are aware, as never before, that humanity stands at the threshold of a change beyond the impact of an era, an epoch, a segment of history. For it is not only we who are entering upon the future in the routine course of time; with us humanity is entering a new dimension, a new direction in its evolution. The present is a funnel through which the whole heritage of the past will issue in a new and transformed orientation, and it is the special task of the literature of the future to explore the nature of this vast and impending change. Its diversity in form and character reveals the wide range of our attitudes toward the challenge of the future. It is a literature of hope and fear, of argument and propaganda, of speculation, prophecy, and exhortation, of escape as well as challenge. And like much of modern art in its adolescent distortions, it "makes faces" at the faceless future: it is ironic, contemptuous, satiric, puerile, fantastic; but it is also a literature of sober scientific speculation and prediction.



IN early antiquity the golden age of man was placed in a remote past. In due course, however, he chose to locate his idealization of human existence in Utopia—that is to say, *nowhere*, as the word connotes in Greek. Thus Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," written in 1516, gave its name to the whole genre; while in the nineteenth century Samuel Butler's "Erewhon," a satire on modern trends, received its title by spelling nowhere backwards—more or less. Actually, Butler's title was out of date because the locale of these idealistic or imaginary projections had been changed; they were now placed in the future. After the circumnavigation of the globe and the exploration of the "Great Frontier," in the phrase of Walter P. Webb, only the future remained as a likely locale for the mythical, the unknown, and the unexpected. As early as 1770 Sebastian Mercier wrote a romance of the future entitled "L'an 2440," and in 1790 Restif de la Bretonne followed with a comedy called "L'an 2000." The tradition has been carried forward ever since. We need only to note Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward: 2000-1887," George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four," Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World," which is dated A. F. (Anno Ford) 600, and Bernard Wolfe's "Limbo"—a brilliant if nightmarish farrago of the future dated 1990—not to mention a host of other prophetic ventures without benefit of a date line. Plainly, the imagination of man has turned toward the future as never before.

Coincident with this shift in locale there has been an even greater shift in outlook, in the quality and anticipation of life from the earlier Utopias with their lofty, pellucid atmosphere, their calm rationality and spiritual poise. That sanguine and roseate atmosphere still suffused the Utopia of H. G. Well's "Men Like Gods" written in 1923, but it wavered and vanished during the

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ensuing decades to be replaced by a darker and more sardonic mood. In place of Utopia with its fair vision of humanity, the modern forays into the future are more apt to be concerned with dire prognostications and gruesome presentiments of a sterile world of utter mechanization—the collectivized world of a monolithic, rationalized, totalitarian state. In that world man is reduced to an automaton. The individual as such has ceased to exist, or remains on the scene as the isolated scapegoat through whom the rigid collectivization of life is revealed. In Eugene Zamatian's satiric novel "We," based on the compulsory routine of Soviet life and published only a year after "Men Like Gods," the men of the future are identified not by names but by impersonal numbers. The theme of dehumanization and depersonalization runs through the literature of the future from the satiric pages of "Erewhon" (1872) to David Karp's forceful "pulverization" of man's identity in his book "One" issued in 1953—not to mention such a contemporary novel of life as C. Virgil Gheorghiu's "The Twenty Fifth Hour" (1950). If the Utopian literature of the past concerned itself with the challenge of visualizing an ideal state for man, the contemporary novel of the future explores an opposite path to social adjustment in the ruthless conditioning of man to the state. This profound and tragic reversal, in which the whole spiritual structure of man is violated, lies at the heart of our literature of the future: it endows it with a characteristically cruel and diabolic anguish, a sense of universal futility and frustration. It heralds the demise of man as a person.

AS WE follow the development of this literature we see that it grows more grim, more subtly brutal, more fateful and pessimistic. The hopeful ending has long since become equivocal or non-existent, as in Huxley's "Brave New World" or Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four"; while the partial failure to reduce the individual to utter conformity as in David Karp's "One" is satirically redeemed by solemn assurances of further research to achieve this end. The deliberate conditioning of mankind in a monolithic scheme of things is conceived as the prime objective of so-

ciety. It is fostered in Orwell's picture of the future by means of torture; in Wolfe's "Limbo" by a bizarre resort to amputations and lobotomy; in Karp's excursion by advanced techniques in psychological degradation aided by drugs in a systematic brain-washing operation; in Huxley's more distant world the conditioning process has been accomplished, finally and completely, through the scientific application of eugenics. But another and perhaps even more alarming aspect of this literature is the progressive short-circuiting of time: the scene is brought ever closer to ourselves. In a foreword to new edition of "Brave New World" fifteen years after its original publication, Huxley confesses that one century rather than six would have sufficed for the future he envisaged. Meanwhile, in the field of "science fiction" we may seek escape in interstellar flight, which we have ground for believing is perhaps closer to realization than the removal of tariff barriers and passport restrictions on earth. Characteristically, scientists seem more confident of overcoming astral gravitation than human inertia.

There is of course another aspect to the literature of the future contributed by historians, social scientists, philosophers, biologists, and others too numerous to mention, which, if less sensational than that of the novelists, is nonetheless concerned with essentially the same problem. In this category alone the number of serious contributors is startling and impressive. Mention may be made of Hermann J. Muller's "Out of The Night: A Biologist's View of The Future," L. L. Whyte's "The Next Development of Man," Harrison Brown's "The Challenge of The Future," Fairfield Osborn's "The Limits of The Earth," Charles Galton Darwin's "The Next Million Years," along with the critical works of such men as Karl Jaspers, J. Huizinga, Ortega y Gasset, Waldo Frank, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lewis Mumford, and many others whose approach to our contemporary situation is inspired by a profound sense of the future. In comparison to the more imaginative flights of the novelists and dramatists, their approach is critical, speculative, and analytical; such judgments as they venture are constrained and cautious and disciplined as much perhaps by their nescience as by their knowledge. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe, in retrospect, that during the late nineteenth century no one but Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, and the historian Buckhardt had the depth of imagination, the psychological insight, and the daring to envisage the immeasurable degradation that overtook the civilized world only half a century later. The extraordinary display of universal self-deception in a period of high optimism and faith should serve as a warning to us.

OUR age has come to the belief that man's intelligence is equal to the challenge confronting him provided only that he would somehow commit himself to its use. But here too, paradoxical as it may seem, man may find himself in the cul-de-sac of the law of diminishing returns. For we must ask whether intelligence, which has amplified the technique of means throughout history, is qualified to stem the tide and undo the spell it set in motion. Will man, facing this dilemma in humility of spirit, seek salvation in a renewed affirmation of transcendental and other-worldly visions, or will he succumb to a religion of the state through which he will happily lose his identity in a plateau existence of uniformity, compliance, and security? Will he come to inhapit a world in which, short-circuiting all inwardness, only the means of life remain to be elevated into its ends? Or is he, finally, subject in reality to an inexorable fate, a kind of morphological determinism under the domination of his intelligence, which will carry him, not to a future without end, but—like other arrested species—to an ultimate condition of "fixity and permanence," to an end devoid of a future?

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BOOKS

Long Shadow of the Thirties

PART OF OUR TIME. Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties. By Murray Kempton. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Martin Solow

MURRAY KEMPTON'S first book, "Part of Our Time," is a series of novellas which share a common element: each deals with what happened to certain people or groups who had a revolutionary view of society during the 1930's. Each represents a different aspect of radical experience.

In presenting his segments of history Kempton uses the technique of the novelist—and it comes off brilliantly. He succeeds in evoking the characters of the men and women he writes about, and he does what only the good novelist can do: he recreates the atmosphere of the time in which they functioned and so forces the reader to inhabit a world which may be alien, dimly recalled, or long forgotten.

Contrary to the professions of former radicals, informers, and government agencies, Kempton holds with an increasing group of social historians that the Communists, the dominant radical group of the time, were no more than a ripple in the turbulent current of events. "We [radicals]," says Kempton, "were only part of our time. It was our illusion that we were the most important part, but most Americans knew we were not and they were right."

HIS stories are mostly stories of failure, although "the myth of the thirties did not touch only persons afflicted with the need for fantasy. Its heritage is not only ruins; it left its monuments too." He writes of the embittered, the pathetic, the disillusioned, and of the few who emerged as "monuments." Kempton's view is that the rebellion of the thirties was undertaken by individuals whose sense of rebellion was flawed or arrested. If they became, as they thought, non-conformists by embracing the Communist Party, once there, they embraced an even more stringent form of conformity in the "party line." His Communists are people without graces, without heart—or faint of heart. They are unscrupulous, petty, rigidly orthodox, lost in mazes of picayune party politics. They engage in seemingly non-productive activities and in endless feuds with other groups of radicals. They are, says Kempton, outside the current of social change in the thirties—yet unaware of their separation and their alienation.

His account of the left-wing Hollywood writers rings true for the most part. They were, he says, "unable to corrupt the movies with ideas; the movies corrupted them, and they got rich fabricating empty banalities to fit Hollywood's idea of life in America." Though what they did in Hollywood had made a mockery of their values, in the end the Hollywood Ten did stand up for their principles and go to jail for them. They were virtually the first to defy the witchhunters. Had their courage been contagious, had their defense been widespread and not in the main confined to the far left, we might never have plunged so far into the postwar witch hunt. The Hollywood radicals deserve credit at least for this.

When he deals with the writers of the thirties, Kempton attempts to limit arbitrarily the effect of the radical thrust on the creative imagination by fixing his attention solely on the proletarian novel. But despite the wooden, unrealistic books of most of those who wrote according to Marxist formulas—and Kempton cites some horrible examples—there were a number who wrote well precisely because of this radical impulse.

John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" was not a "proletarian novel" but it undoubtedly emerged from the radical ferment of the time. The books of James T. Farrell, Richard Wright, and Nelson Algren were also a part of the same impulse, and to separate them from it and consider each as an unrelated case, as Kempton does, is to establish artificial categories. Maxwell Geismar, writing of the "new direction of the nineteen-thirties," cites such writers as MacLeish, Dos Passos, Sandberg, Rukeyser, Caldwell, Halper, Wright, and Odets, whose work he says "was in many respects more aware and mature in its values, in the epoch of crisis more fruitful in its intimation of the future, than possibly any other literary movement of the last half-century." Today, when we are more jaded and perhaps more cynical, much of what was written in the thirties sounds banal. But if we contrast the themes of affirmation with the sick and tortured material current today, we can approach a fairer evaluation of it.

In his section on the youth movements Kempton brings alive the flavor of their holy wars—too many of them, alas, waged against ideological opponents who presumably were on the same side of the barricades. I have no doubt that the bitterness engendered during those days has contributed to the tragic polarization of the left in America today. What was unfortunate about the dissipation of radical energies was not what Kempton sees—the personal alienation and neuroticism—but the frustration of the good people who believed they were part of an inexorable march toward a brave new world.

THERE were more positive elements in the radical movement of the thirties than Kempton distinguishes. And perhaps part of Kempton's difficulty lies within himself. For instance, at one point, in order to prove a generalization, he cites some adolescent letters written by friends of his wife—hardly a fair sampling of youthful opinion. Writing of the youth movement, he warns his readers, "If I remember its characters as posturing in the main it is because I remember myself as posturing." Whose problem is that? And I think he would find a host of witnesses prepared hotly to refute him when he observes that if his book is barren of "remembered acts of mercy or kindness or fraternity" it is because "there was less kindness, justice, and brotherhood in the radicals of the thirties than in any other group of radicals in our history." The fact is, during those days many people were inspired—and the Roosevelt pragmatic revolution

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played its part in quickening that inspiration—to become concerned with the welfare of other people.

Granted some of the negative factors Kempton recalls, nevertheless the thirties were literally alive with ideas. Young people especially, in contrast with today's youth, were not afraid to examine problems, talk about them, and hunt for solutions. While the youth movements in a formal sense were small, they cast an influence in much wider circles than Kempton indicates.

I remember dropping out of college for some months in 1939 and hitch-hiking through the South — working in a retail store, picking pecans and oranges, washing dishes, bell-hopping, and so on. Fired by the miserable conditions I had seen, when I returned home I straightway wrote a letter to the YIPSELS telling them I was ready to join up and to come and get me. I never heard from them, and so ended my efforts to affiliate with any part of the youth movement. But the impulse was not lost, for subsequently I went to work organizing for the C. I. O.—as did countless other young people with or without "revolutionary" affiliations.

CONTRARY to Kempton's thesis that people became radicals because of subjective problems, I would cite the atmosphere of the time as a deeper reason. America was haunted by the depression, by bread lines and "Hoovervilles." There were the bonus marches, unemployment demonstrations, relief demonstrations, violent strike-breaking. And there was the shattering impact of fascism and the fact that the Soviet Union represented its most militant, consistent opposition. To a number of those who were truly concerned with these situations, the Communist Party existed as a ready vehicle for the expression of that concern. Many who today profess to have seen from the start the design of evil in the Communist Party are speaking from hindsight. In the thirties the Communists worked for the stated objectives of many other liberal and left groups. They offered, moreover, the attraction of incessant activity. As Kempton says, this did not take place within the "mainstream of American life." But neither was it all sickness or malevolence.

Kempton laments the disappearance of the young radicals of the thirties. "So many of us are gone now, gone without trace, this bright young legion of the elect who were supposed to be the leaders of their generation and the beacon for its future." They have not stood up well, he says, and you can agree.

And yet, confronted with the cold war, how many young people could become heroes? Especially when they acquired wives and children and no longer enjoyed the luxury of making decisions only in accord with their personal desires. It does not reflect solely on the radical youth that they have lost their way; it is, rather, a revelation of the pressure of the times and of economics—as Kempton has frequently pointed out in his perceptive newspaper column.

Persons possessed by a dream, says Kempton, are a minority in any time. This is an easy truth but not one which necessarily reflects the effect of that minority upon society. So when he attempts to write off the effect of the radical movement in the thirties by showing how small it was, he does not provide an adequate measuring rod. The great social changes down through the ages have come from small groups who had an impact upon the greater body of their fellow citizens. The impact of radicalism in the thirties had a continuing effect upon America. As Kempton himself notes, the thirties produced "a great economic revolution at whose end children no longer worked in factories and assembly hands spoke unafraid to their foreman." Virtually to read the radicals out of this process is, I believe, to misread the history of the time.

TAKEN as a whole, however, I found "Part of Our Time" one of the most stimulating books in many years. Among its best chapters are those on J. B. Matthews, the Reuther brothers and the United Automobile Workers, the National Maritime Union, and Lee Pressman and Gardner Jackson. In addition, when we have witnessed—as in recent years—the spectacle of radicals repenting their past all over the landscape, it is good to read a book which eschews the confessional approach.

Kempton himself stems from what was best in the radical movement of the thirties. In recent years he has built a substantial reputation for his courage on civil liberties and labor issues and for his generally discerning columns on our way of life. I suspect that somewhere underneath what he is and what he writes there exists the shadow of his own radical past. Were he to assay further his values today and his values yesterday, he might well find that he need not patronize and deprecate that past.

The Blow Lands

Dead objects seem to live in the arms of the southwest wind:
Thorns, feathers, skin of the lizard, dung of the bleached bull,
Dreams of tired men leaving under clouds of their blown ranches.

All lost and senseless things move seaward to drown in the wet ravines.
The heaviest bones remain, and the heaviest thoughts;
The great rocks stay, and history in the mountains;
Stay the hard-eyed buzzard, the absolute sun.

A hundred miles perhaps to Alamogordo,
A bird's flight to the proving ground at White Sands,
A thousand years to the pyramid of Los Alamos
Waiting for the speckled wings to dive,
the dry wind to blow.

The simplest act of man is to plant trees,
To bring snow water from the cold passes.
The Indian was a father to the desert,
Even the armed Spaniard thought of gardens.

The complicated mind is seedless:
The simple acts are kept for children in the glass museum.
All pyramids rise in the worship of annihilation:
Dead objects only seem to live in the arms of the southwest wind.

DON GORDON

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France's Cold Civil War

CAPTAIN DREYFUS. The Story of a Mass Hysteria by Nicholas Halasz. Simon And Schuster. $3.50.

By Matthew Josephson

THE STRANGE case of the Jewish army officer who was wrongfully sentenced for treason in a French military trial of sixty years ago has brought forth a veritable torrent of books in all languages, as well as countless plays and movies, good and bad (such as "Madame X" which I saw in a nickelodeon of my boyhood days). For the world-renowned *affaire* has a perennial fascination both for those who crave escape in the mystery thriller and those whose interest leads them to the serious study of the makers and shapers of history, or of power politics, militarism, nationalism, anti-Semitism. It is to the latter type of reader, however, that Mr. Halasz's lucid and skilfully organized history of the Dreyfus case is mainly directed. His is a large, many-threaded, tightly woven narrative encompassing most of the pertinent material in Joseph Reinach's seven-volume work (1904-1911), but augmenting the old records with more recent revelations, such as the long secret documents giving the German side of the story, released in the last days of the Weimar Republic. These, including the diaries of the German espionage chief in Paris, finally removed whatever last lingering doubts anyone might possibly have entertained concerning the innocence of Dreyfus.

The Dreyfus case literally "has everything": fools, clowns, base rascals, honest villains, and citizen-heroes of large stature. Even a mysterious, veiled lady, always clad in black, who turns out to be a man. It forms of course *the* great folk-drama or miracle play of the Third Republic — that highly civilized, scandal-ridden "Republic of the Bourgeois," which, nowadays, is so much belittled and deplored. For over ten years the lusty bouts of the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards, those latter-day Guelphs and Ghibellines, kept all France in the turmoil of a cold civil war. During the struggle the political issues constantly broadened. The fight to save an innocent man consigned to Devil's Island became a deadly contest between civilian and military authority, with the fate of the republic itself at stake.

In the early stages an overwhelming majority of the people believed in the integrity of the French army leadership, as did all the great press, and came to its defense. But in the end it was the anti-democratic extremists, those true precursors of racism and fascism whom Zola characterized as men possessed "with an obstinate will for darkness," who met with defeat. The miracle of it all was that a few mere writers, such as Zola and Reinach, and a handful of liberal and anti-clerical politicians, such as Clemenceau, managed through their own obstinate, unremitting exertions to lead the whole country toward revision and reform. As a consequence the school system of France was at last removed from the domination of the church; and the French army emerged with renewed strength to face the ordeal of 1914-1918.

IN RETROSPECT the epoch of the Dreyfus case seems to us inspired with an *elan* born of a revolutionary crisis. Men acted and spoke again with the passion and eloquence of Mirabeau and Danton. The "Tiger," Clemenceau, said:

> . . . When the watchwords of tolerance and liberty will have yielded their place to the clamors of hatred . . . then we may still have the same rivers, the same mountains. We may still sit on French soil. But we shall have ceased to be the France our fathers desired to create and left to us to make into a reality.

After all, one reflects, how little of Dreyfus himself there was in the Dreyfus case! This respectable and patriotic officer, on returning from exile, was utterly astonished at the furor over a judicial error by a military court. And one might add the further observation: how little of *Semitism* there was, after all, in the whole movement of anti-Semitism that swept over Europe in those days. But there was a great deal of mass-hysteria, quite obviously directed and manipulated by powerful groups who had a big "investment" in the national neurosis about war danger, internal enemies, traitors, spies lurking everywhere. On this aspect of the *affaire* Mr. Halasz focuses attention as few other commentators have done; his analysis of its crowd and opinion movements has a remarkable relevancy to our own politico-military situation in the fear-ridden America of the 1950's.

> . . . There was conformity, and sinister forces within the nation attempted to make conformity serve their own purposes. Through the efficient manipulation of mass-communication media they penetrated the plants, the offices, the barracks, the schools, the homes and even the nurseries. They intimidated the sober minority. But it was beyond their power to prevent a few men of courage and responsibility from offering resistance . . . .

Mass-hysteria over the Dreyfus case flared up at a time when France was harrowed by fear of new invasion and defeat. In essence the Third Republic was a parliamentary democracy plus an army, an army that was outsized for a nation of forty millions. The Ministers might come and go; the Generals remained. They headed a powerful, long-standing bureaucracy. Within the circles of the old officer caste and in those of the fanatical Catholic Royalists, a whole series of plots had been engineered, ever since 1871, to restore the monarchy or set up a dictatorial regime. It was from these quarters that a great hue and cry had been raised against the tiny minority of French Jews after the failure of General Boulanger's proposed coup, and again after the financial crash of the Panama Canal project toward 1890.

It was the reactionary group of army officers who seem to have been beside themselves with excitement and fear in 1894 when evidence was discovered of the operations of a traitor or spy in their very midst, one apparently having access to the General Staff. In their ignorance they leaped to the conclusion that it was the work not of one of their own charmed circle of aristocrats, but of some "outsider," one of the few Jewish officers, the one whose name began with a "D." Thus Captain Dreyfus was arrested, as if with

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MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of "Zola and His Times. The History of His Martial Career in Letters."

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a wild stab, and tried in camera, neither he nor his lawyer being shown the incriminating document or *bordereau* allegedly evidencing his guilt. It was a kangaroo trial even according to the military code. But the stupid generals, at any rate, had their "German spy" and could now breathe easily again. Later, they insisted that their haste and secrecy was dictated by fear of imminent war with Germany.

THE INNOCENT man's family strove to have the case reopened; but measures were taken to intimidate and silence them. Only a year after the sentencing of Dreyfus, a newly appointed and honest intelligence chief, Colonel Georges Picquart, discovered the emptiness of the Dreyfus "file" and even disclosed to the High Command the identity of the real traitor, Major Walsin-Esterhazy. His superior, a lieutenant-general, ordered Picquart to hold his tongue, saying: "For me truth is what the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff tells me is true." Picquart was then sent away to an African desert station. Thereafter the real traitor with the aid of an accomplice in the Intelligence Department and underlings of the General Staff fabricated forgeries in order to strengthen their case against Dreyfus and preserve their crime—already being whispered about all over Paris. The whispers soon became an uproar, and the army leaders, under pressure, committed ever greater follies. These are risks always present for a democratic society when it accepts the overshadowing power of a huge military establishment whose bureaucrats work ever in silence and secrecy—"for the good of the army" or, less sincerely, for "the safety of the republic."

The day came when the real traitor was openly denounced in the opposition press and by a few brave souls in Parliament. The army moved quickly to try him in secret court-martial, and, of course, exonerated him. Then the "Leagues of Patriots" began again to play on the theme of anti-Semitism and took over the streets of Paris. Whenever a big-army faction in concert with big or little demagogues makes its bid for power in the state—as more recently in the Weimar Republic—there is usually a recrudescence of anti-Semitism, or anti-common-sense, or anti-anything. And there always seem to be enough "traitors" and "subversives" around to feed the mass-hysteria engendered in the populace. Emile Zola, however, had glimpsed a good part of the truth at this stage, early in 1898; with the clairvoyance of a master novelist he constructed a coherent and powerful statement of what must have been going on behind the scenes. In his great polemical pamphlet, *J'Accuse,* he indicted the heads of the government and the whole army command; thus with one smashing blow he finished off all the mumbo-jumbo of military secrecy, deliberately forced a public trial of himself, and brought the whole *affaire* into the open daylight. Zola too was to be condemned, but henceforth, as he said, "the truth was on the march."

Considerable change in the spirit of the public showed itself by 1899, as Mr. Halasz notes, when Dreyfus at last was brought back for retrial. Formerly the common people had seemed confused, apathetic, or fearful; they were more or less indifferent to the issue of civil rights. Now all the republicans of the left, the trade-unionists, the Socialists came out in imposing demonstrations of a hundred thousand persons, filling the Paris boulevards and frightening off the racist hooligans. The magnificent agitation of men like Zola and Clemenceau and, belatedly, of the famous Social leader, Jean Jaures, brought all the democratic factions together in a great common stand for the republic. Even the most wavering of politicians could sense this turning of the tide. "To have reconquered the workers for the republic," Halasz observes keenly, "was the historic achievement of the Dreyfus affair"; it provided "a solid base for the Third Republic . . . enabled it to endure . . . ."

A Stubborn Band

LIBERTY AND REFORMATION IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By William Haller. Columbia University Press. $6.

By Donald A. Roberts

THE events of British history from the calling of the Long Parliament in 1640 to the execution of Charles I in 1649 were fateful immediately for the people of Britain and for the outposts in America, destined to become the United States and Canada. Later they had considerable effect on the intellectual leaders of the French Revolution. And today few can be unaware that they loom in the background of the upheaval in Asia and Africa.

As in his previous study, "The Rise of Puritanism" (1938), the author chronicles these events only incidentally. At most, he reminds his readers of them or sketches them briefly. His concern is with the intellectual and spiritual development of the people under the leadership of a very remarkable group of preachers, agitators, reformers, and soldiers. Only the barest bones of biography are given for these men, but their ideas come vividly to life in copious and illuminating quotations from their writings, speeches, and petitions.

THOUGH the documentation of the study is very full its central ideas are never blurred. Once the authority of the bishops was successfully challenged the limits of freedom of conscience were beyond definition. Though the Presbyterians were able to establish the Westminster Assembly in order to reform the church according to their beliefs they found themselves frustrated by a stubborn minority who claimed the same right of dissent the Presbyterians had demanded of the bishops. Inevitably, the quest for religious freedom engendered the desire for political reform with the result that by 1649 the confusion in life and thought was so great that only the decisive action of the army could bring a measure of stability to the nation.

This is a rich and mellow book. It makes a fundamental contribution to our knowledge of a seminal age and to our understanding of such important men as Lilburne, Overton, Walwyn, Roger Williams, John Milton, and Cromwell.

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

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Films

Robert Hatch

THE KNACK of Alfred Hitchcock was never great art and his decline is no great tragedy. Nevertheless, it is melancholy that a man who did so well the thing he did—with such wit and such apparent ease and pleasure—should now turn out ponderous imitations of himself. "To Catch a Thief," Hitchcock's latest, may not be such a bad Hollywood feature, but it is bad Hitchcock.

What was the charm of the famous pictures? Leaving aside their fine cinematic devices — many of which Hitchcock perfected and most of which have since become part of the general movie vocabulary—their charm was substantially that of good British detective fiction. They set wildly improbable peril against backgrounds of blandest normalcy. The characters, lightly drawn, were people who made strong claim on your friendship; they were intelligent and gay and, though involved in outlandish adventure, were obviously amateurs of melodrama. The pictures themselves had a pleasantly amateur feeling. They seemed to be made with the least possible fuss or paraphernalia, and as if for the fun of the job. Hitchcock was not being very original. Much of his camera work was borrowed from the British documentary crews and his narratives, both plots and structure, were adaptations to the screen of the urbane thriller. But he made the adaptation wonderfully well and the pictures were stamped with the ironies and incongruities that amused him.

When he came to America, Hitchcock took on American ways. Instead of making Hitchcock pictures, he began to turn out Hollywood pictures with Hitchcock touches—"Foreign Correspondent," for example. His work turned more pretentious and less personal. Like a good many European directors before him, he became a star, a big name for big pictures.

That is not to say that he suddenly lost his talent. "Lifeboat" was a compelling picture; so were "Rope" and "Strangers on a Train." But they were somewhat assertively tricky and they were not always appetizing, or strictly honest, pictures. The latter two deal with abnormality of a peculiarly baleful type—sadistic homosexuality carried to fatal extremes—and yet their content was essentially frivolous. They were entertainments, rather cute entertainments, derived from subject matter so inappropriate that we were ashamed to be entertained. Yet if you tried to handle them seriously, they fell into tinsel no weightier than the ingredients of "The Thirty-Nine Steps." They were Kraft-Ebbing at the level of John Buchan, examples of the fact that the studios do not hesitate to make smooth treatments out of the most painful and complex human predicaments.

"To Catch a Thief" is a turn back toward the old order of excitement. It is a Leslie Charteris kind of yarn in which a renowned cat burglar, now retired and living splendidly at Monte Carlo, has to put on sneakers and gloves once more to trap an imposter who is aping his old style. Cary Grant is sunburned and athletic in the role; Grace Kelly and Brigitte Auber do their best to distract him with their hot little breaths (as in "Summertime," a fireworks display is used for explicit but censor-proof symbolism); Jessie Royce Landis plays a boozy American oil widow with humorous effect.

There are scenes here and there to prove that Hitchcock was around when the film was made: a chase through a flower market, an altercation at a graveside, a girl staring through dark glasses, the perplexities of an insurance agent who is cozened into putting the finger on his most affluent clients; but I never felt he had the controls in his hands. The picture lumbers, it has violence but little tension, it wastes time in vulgar ogling, its characters are without individuality or relish. The acting is routine competence verging on inattention, and Grace Kelly, at least, can do better than that.

Most disappointing, there are none of the bizarre conceits by which Hitchcock used to run cold fingers up our backs, none of the foolishness that used to be hysterically funny in the dire circumstances. As always, Hitchcock appears briefly—this time as a passenger in a suburban bus—but his hound-dog face is the trademark without the product. Of course, his name will help to sell all that expensive colored Vistavision.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA ML-5038 offers Scenes 4 and 5 of "Antigonae" by Carl Orff, whose "Carmina Burana" made a big impression on musicians and critics when it was performed in New York last year. The vocal writing on this record is recitative; and much of it, especially at first, is a repetition of one note ending with a melodic cadence somewhat like that of the end of a phrase of Gregorian chant; but for greater tension and expressive force there is also a melodic type of recitative which is effective, impressive, and at times moving. This recitative is sung by the soloists and chorus to an accompaniment of rhythmic and percussive details achieved with great precision by an orchestra comprising string basses, harps, flutes, oboes, trumpets, and an enormous number of percussion instruments ranging from pianos and kettledrums to Javanese gong-chimes and an African wood drum. What we hear, then, is a personal and individual idiom and style that Orff has made for himself out of known elements; and a use of this idiom and style that is impressive and moving.

The performance by Christl Goltz, Hilde Roessl-Majdan, Hermann Uhde, Josef Greindl, the chorus of the Vienna State Opera, and members of the Vienna Symphony, under the direction of Heinrich Hollreiser, is excellent. I had listened to half of Scene 4 before I discovered in the record envelope the sheet with the German text and a combination of English translation and summary that leaves large sections neither translated nor summarized.

Epic LC-3135 offers *Dove sono* from "Figaro" and a number of less frequently heard Mozart arias: *Tutte nel cor vi sento* from "Idomeneo,"

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two arias from "Titus," *Basta, vincesti* K. 486a, *Alma grande* K. 578, and the especially fine *Bella mia fiamma* K. 528. Hilde Zadek uses an agreeable voice in well-shaped and expressive phrases, with good accompaniments by the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner.

The fresh, lovely lyric soprano of Emmy Destinn's performances of excerpts from "Robert the Devil" and "Russalka" on the Scala record I discussed last fall seemed to me to be that of Destinn in her pre-1908 Berlin days. With these performances the two records of Classic Editions 7001 offer several more of the same period and quality—of excerpts from "Lohengrin" and "Tannhauser," the Seguidilla from "Carmen" and Jewel Song from "Faust" (in German), and *D'amor sull' ali rosee* from "Il Trovatore" (in Italian). The beauty of the voice and the assurance with which it is deployed make the "Trovatore" aria worth the price of the set; but on the other hand you would never recognize in the hurried, unimpressively phrased *Ritorna vincitor* from "Aida" (in German) the singer who recorded the great performance for Victor a few years later.

VIVALDI'S engaging "Four Seasons," comprising the first four violin concertos of "Il Cimento dell' Armonia e dell' Invenzione" Op. 8, is on Columbia ML-5044, played by Cantelli with the New York Philharmonic and its concertmaster John Corigliano. The beautifully phrased and shaped performance is reproduced with rich sound that is made too huge at times by the close-range recording.

Tchaikovsky's rarely played Piano Concerto No. 2, far superior to the popular No. 1, is played on Classic Editions 3008 by Tatiana Nikolayeva with what is described as the State Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. under Anosov. Her playing is of finer musical quality than Pinter's in the Urania performance; and there is beautiful playing by the solo violin and cello in the second movement; but the orchestra is shabby and poorly reproduced, and Anosov seems unable to give the performance the slightest continuity.

The songs of Charles Ives that are sung well by Helen Boatwright on Overtone 7 I have found uninteresting.

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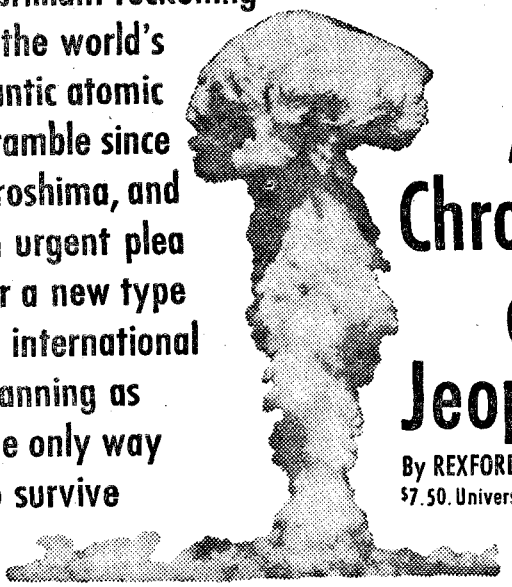

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Letters

Shakespeare Festival Theater

Dear Sirs: In your issue of August 6, Harold Clurman dealt with the newly founded American Shakespeare Festival Theater at Stratford, Connecticut, and found nothing good in its first production, "Julius Caesar," nor a word, good or bad, to say of the theater structure itself, nor of the idea of its academy, directed by John Burrell, formerly of the Old Vic, in the great days of Oliver and Richardson, nor of the considerable effort made to provide an eventual frame for heroic acting in our nation, so far divested of it. However feeble the first steps may have been, it might have been gracious to have remarked the beauty of the building, its site, and the possibility of something for a future.

However, Mr. Clurman misread his program note, which was quite explicit, as to the style of the scenery and costumes for "Caesar." They were not, as he lumped them, Elizabethan. They strove to fulfill the imaginative requirements of what was in Shakespeare's own eye when he thought of Rome, which was not our archaeological Rome. He had his own archaeology. To him, Roman was Italian. His Roman Empire was the Holy Roman Empire of Dante and Petrarch, not the revived Forum of Winckleman and Alma-Tadema. The clothes and architecture of Rome he saw in illustrated books of the translations of Plutarch and Suetonius as depicted by the painters and engravers of the early and high Renaissance. Many people have spoken of the welcome relief of a production of "Caesar" eschewing the inevitable bathrobe togas. The armor was the sort of fanciful parade-armor imagined by Piero della Francesca and Paolo Ucello; that Shakespeare used such i proven by the extant drawing of the original "Titus Andronicus." There is no such thing as Elizabethan armor, per se; parade-armor and festival-armor was already a revived style.

That America lacks a coherent and homogeneous acting style, a clear-cut speech and projection is, alas, all too true—which is one of the reasons that an attempt has been made to found an academy, in New York and at Stratford, Connecticut, with those very elements, such as Dennis Carey of Bristol, the Old Vic, and Stratford-on-Avon, which Mr. Clurman has good reason to praise. Nevertheless, much thought lay behind the planning of our "Caesar": it was produced too hastily in a theater building not yet finished; but the production after fifteen performances has greatly changed. Even Mr. Clurman might like it better, now; it did not enjoy the normal two-week provincial tryout, and the opening, which was a diplomatic occasion, unfortunately could not have been delayed, although strikes and work stoppages, flash-floods and money problems delayed the completion of the building.

The approach to the production was not accidental; it was straightforward. It was not "experimental" or "revolutionary." The intention of the author was, as far as was locally and historically possible, the first interest of the director. The director's role was a governing one, but not a starring one, as was the case of certain productions by Orson Wells, Tyrone Guthrie, and admirably Mr. Clurman himself.

Mr. Atkinson, of the New York Times, in a notice certainly no less strict than The Nation's but more realistic and understanding, stressed the ritual aspects of the production's intention. "Caesar" fatally has the preordained atmosphere of a political rite, whose performance is in doubt, but whose ends are known. That we failed in our aim does not condemn our future, and the aim was high.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Stratford, Conn.

[A reply to Mr. Kirstein will appear in Harold Clurman's regular column next week.]

"France Against Herself"

Dear Sirs: I am loath to disagree with Alexander Werth, whose books on prewar France I consider as masterly. But I think he has been a little less than fair to Luethy's "France Against Herself" in the July 23 issue. The book is highly controversial; at times exasperatingly so. But only the conventional can please the conventional: free minds are bound to disagree, and even irritation is a form of stimulation. I found Luethy richly informed (with the inevitable slips), keen-minded, and witty without wisecracks. I should like to write a long refutation of his book, but I should like also to recommend it to serious and impartial readers.

ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford, Calif.

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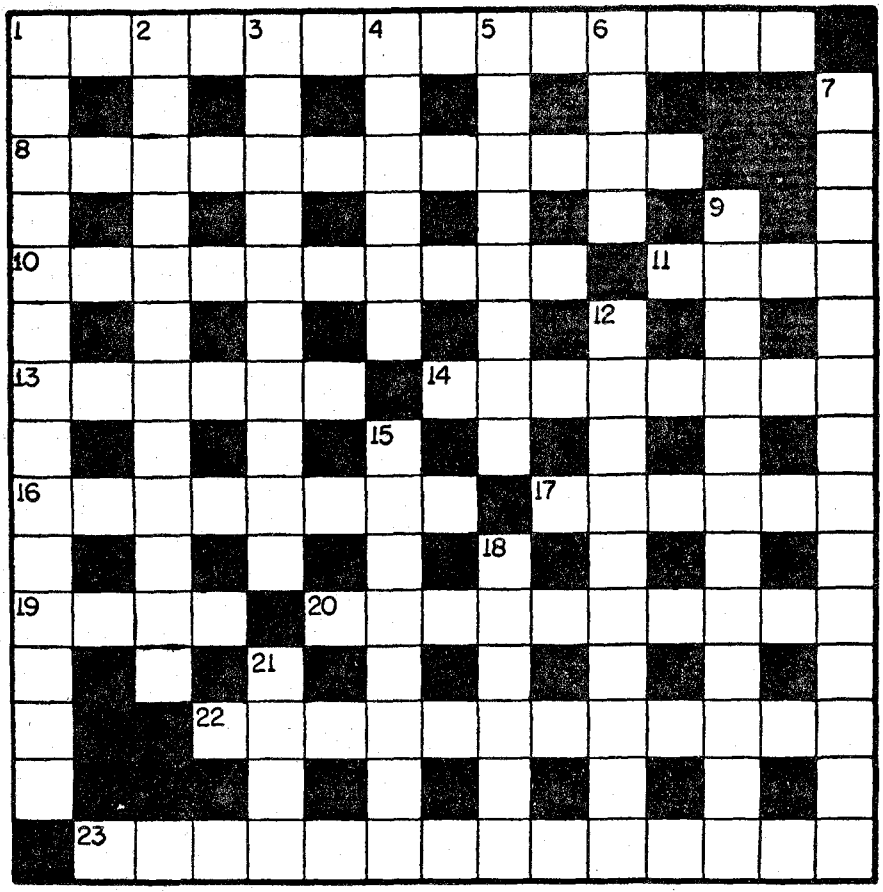
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sawyer might skip with them. (9,5)

8 A silver nut is wrought so. (12)

10 Toweling. (5,5)

11 In time we become inspired by fear. (4)

13 Truly concerned with the help. (6)

14 What the dicky-bird sang in the "Hot Mikado." (8)

16 Light starter for fair. (8)

17 Thoreau said his life was like one on the beach. (6)

19 Exposes one to music? (4)

20 A late-lived trouble is mitigated by it. (10)

22 See 3 down

23 Night gowns? (7,7)

DOWN

1 One who reckons on what's left. (14)

2 Rolling stock. (8,4)

3 6, and 22 across Premise on which a good turn-out was called for when the boys came home? (5,5,3, 1, 6,6)

4 Let's us fight! (6)

5 Reprint. (8)

6 See 3 down

7 The result of layers exposed to high temperature, water, and time. (4-6,4)

9 Do hoop-snakes reputedly? (12)

12 Original crime, perhaps. (10)

15 Riding up on top of the carriage is bad to us, or a fighter. (8)

18 Burnt water-color. (6)

21 "The blood stirs more to rouse a --------". (Henry IV, Pt. I) (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 632

ACROSS: 6 ABLE; 10 RELICS; 11 MOORAGE; 12 SLEEP LIKE A BABY; 14 ARTICLES; 15 HERETO; 16 INCITE; 18 SHARP-SET; 22 and 1 ACROSS WHAT IS SO RARE AS A DAY IN JUNE; 24 CORRODE; 25 OUTLINE; 26 TEST; 27 STOLIDNESS. DOWN: 1 AEROSTATIC; 2 AILMENT; 3 INCAPACITATION; 4 JUSTICE; 7 BRAMBLE; 8 and 5 DOWN EVEN NUMBER; 9 DOUBLE-BREASTED; 13 POETASTERS; 17 COHERES; 19 HOOT OWL; 20 STERILE; 21 ASCENT; 23 SCOT.

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